DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 165 175 CS 204 651

AUTHOR Black, J. J.
TITLE Reaping between the Lines: Non-Verbal Cues to the Journalistic Interview.
PUB DATE Aug 78
NOTE 50p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Body Language; Communication Skills; *Interaction Process Analysis; Interpersonal Competence; *Interviews; *Journalism; Literature Reviews; *Nonverbal Communication; Paralinguistics; Proximity
IDENTIFIERS Proxemics

ABSTRACT

Maintaining that the nonverbal elements of communication are ultimately more significant than the verbal elements in determining the eventual success or failure of the journalistic interview, this paper attempts to assist journalists in understanding the complex and subtle nonverbal characteristics of the interview environment. Based on the research findings and observations of 78 sources from a variety of disciplines, the paper first discusses the motivations, barriers, and biases inherent in interviews. It next analyzes three categories of nonverbal communication and relates each to the process of journalistic interviewing. The three categories are: paralanguage (nonverbal components of the speech act), including voice set and nonverbal vocalizations; kinesics (body language), including emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays, and adaptors; and proxemics (the relationships between the communicator's body and other people or objects). The paper also analyzes the role of such nonverbal attributes as personal appearance, attractiveness, skin color, height, sex, and the use of time. It concludes with a discussion of the pros and cons of notetaking and notetaping in the interviewing process. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED165175

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

REAPING BETWEEN THE LINES:

Non-Verbal Cues to the Journalistic Interview

by

J. J. Black

Associate Professor of Communication

Utah State University

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. J. Black

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

prepared for the

Association for Education in Journalism

Seattle, Washington August, 1978

CS204 657

REAPING BETWEEN THE LINES:

Non-Verbal Cues to the Journalistic Interview

ABSTRACT

This paper maintains, as have several serious students of communication, that the non-verbal elements of the communication environment are ultimately more significant than the verbal elements in determining the eventual success or failure of the interview. Based on research evidence and astute observations of some 78 different sources, many of whom have studied interviewing empirically in their attempts to improve their own abilities as psychologists, counselors, lawyers, social workers, journalists and others, the paper attempts to outline key conclusions that serve as a helpful synthesis for journalistic interviewers. The effort consists of a review of various motivations, barriers and biases inherent in interviews; recognition of non-verbal cues as communicative, informative or attributive; debates over the extent to which we have broken and can subsequently control the codes of paralanguage (including voice set and non-verbal vocalizations), body movements, kinesics (including emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays and adaptors), proxemics, non-verbal attributes (including personal appearance, attractiveness, height, skin color, and gender) and the use of time (by diffused point and displaced point persons); and, finally, some pros and cons of note-taking and note-taping as significant non-verbal elements in the interviewing process.

Some of the empirical conclusions contradict each other as well as the seat-of-the-pants conclusions proposed by veteran interviewers. This review of a varied literature can not, in and of itself, constitute a theory of journalistic interviewing. However, the state of non-verbal communication knowledge is rapidly advancing to the point where the journalist who chooses to ignore it does so at some risk--to himself, to his interviewee, to his news medium and ultimately to the public which expects the journalist to utilize all available informational and fact-gathering tools at his disposal.

J. J. Black

Associate Professor of Communication

Utah State University

READING BETWEEN THE LINES:

Non-Verbal Cues to the Journalistic Interview

Introduction. It's certainly no secret that a large portion of information in our news media emanates from interviews. Some are carefully planned, days and weeks in advance, while others are conducted impromptu and ad hoc. Many are initiated by spokesmen with vested interests, anxious to gain the media's--and by extension, the public's--ear. Others are accomplished by skillful interviewers who coax and cajole information, droplet by droplet, from recalcitrant sources. Most combine the search for facts with the search for impressions, insights and value judgments.

My purpose in this paper is not to rehash the rubric of how journalists arrange for, conduct and report verbal interviews. That has been thoroughly considered by Brady (10), Metzler (55), Sherwood (66), Webb and Salancik (73) and a host of others. Rather, I hope, by reviewing insights from these and 74 other sources, to assist journalists in understanding the complex and subtle non-verbal characteristics of the interview environment. As we shall see, many observers have maintained that the non-verbal elements are ultimately more significant than the verbal elements in determining the eventual success of failure of the interview. Journalists' sensitivity to the conscious and subconscious motivations, biases, manipulations and other barriers posed by their sources and themselves could be heightened by a recognition of the omnipresent non-verbal cues.

Such cues have been carefully and empirically investigated by social

scientists in the past couple of decades, building upon the foundations laid down by insightful practitioners and observers of the interviewing craft. Interestingly, while many of the heuristic observations about the non-verbal aspects of interviewing have come from journalists, it appears that most of the theory-building and empirically validated findings have emerged from other disciplines in which fact-finding, counseling and sometimes manipulative interviewing serves as a significant professional tool--e.g., psychology, employment counseling, legal studies, social work and the like. While the insights and investigations have yet to accumulate into a body of "interviewing law," nor perhaps into fully validated "interviewing theory," a synthesis of the evidence holds promise for improved journalistic performance.

Motivations, barriers and biases. Before considering the journalistic interview per se, we may do well to consider the basic definition of an interview, the interviewers' and interviewees' motivations, and the barriers and biases that frequently mitigate against a successful interview.

Interviewing has been defined as "a form of oral communication involving two parties, at least one of whom has a preconceived and serious purpose and both of whom speak and listen from time," (29, p. 6) or "a process of dyadic communication with a preconceived and serious purpose designed to interchange behavior and usually involving the asking and answering of questions." (Dyadic is defined as a subset of interpersonal communication, best characterized as face to face communication with perviasive feedback and in which the roles of speaker and listener are constantly shifting.) (69, pp. 5-6) While the process is defined as speaking and listening, common sense and research tell us it should be much more comprehensive than this, unless we redefine speaking and

listening to mean the utilization of all our senses to give off and absorb the myriad cues in the physical, psychological, and social environment. This paper presumes the latter.

Richetto and Zima point out that there are both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations behind interviews--from both the interviewer's and interviewee's points of view. Both parties should recognize the intrinsic value of the interview, seen in the basic pleasure people derive from the process of human interaction, i.e., communication for communication's sake. Both should recognize the needs for acceptance, security and self-esteem, regardless of the type of interview. In addition, extrinsic motivations should be considered, such as the perception of each other as people from whom each can profit, which extends beyond the value of the interaction alone. Even if the interview is obviously for mutual exploitation, it can be successful. Richetto and Zima say "intrinsic motivation will remind you to be as interpersonally effective as possible and extrinsic motivation will remind you of your role as representative of a philosophical position, an organization, or a 'cause,' and of the need to conduct yourself accordingly." (58, p. 22) The authors are focusing from the viewpoint of the interviewer, but the logic works both ways.

Bearing the motivations in mind, the interviewer should be acutely aware of the types of barriers and biases likely to hamper an effective interview and distort the information obtained. Richetto and Zima remind us to consider five such barriers: background and psychological influences, behavioral influences (including physical, vocal, listening and feedback behavior), language influence, role influence, and environmental influences. (58, pp. 8-13) Surely there are others, but these will do for openers.

In their provocative book Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences, Webb and his colleagues say that the type of person conducting an interview becomes a participant in the communications experience, and is subject to two classes of error: control effect and biased-viewpoint effect. Control effect is present when the measurement process itself--the interview--becomes an agent working for change. (What journalists haven't conducted an interview at some stage in their careers with the thought buried somewhere in the back of their minds that they would like to be a part of the action?) The biased-viewpoint effect occurs when the observer selectively exposes himself to the data, or selectively perceives them, and, worse yet, shifts over time the calibration of his observation measures. (72, p. 114) For instance, the observer is more likely to report on phenomena which are different from those of his own society or values or subculture than he is to report on phenomena common to both. And after he has spent much time in the interviewee's culture, the novelty wears off and the acclimation may mean he no longer observes as freshly as before. Hence the logic in city editors' rotating staffers among beats. For decades it has been recognized among social scientists that Black or Oriental interviewers tend to get more socially acceptable answers than Whites when discussing racial issues, and early research showed that while prohibitionist social workers found overindulgence in liquor as primary reasons why some welfare recipients slid into the flophouse, socialistic social workers found social and industrial conditions accounting for the same situations. (55, pp. 30-31)

The list of barriers and biases could go on and on, but suffice it to say there is a plethora of evidence about the need for journalistic

interviewers to beware of their own personal biases and sensitive to their interviewees and to the interview environment as a whole. Such sensitivity, as noted above, can come fromcareful utilization of common sense and empirical conclusions. Perhaps a useful way to launch such an investigation for journalists is to recall Hohenberg's observation that no talking journalist ever held a decent interview. Let's consider some of the things a journalist should do when he's not talking.

Even If You Don't Talk, You Cannot Not Communicate. Hohenberg wasn't telling the journalist to shut up. Far from it. But he might have been implying that the journalist should refine his senses and listen with his whole being. If so, it's pretty good advice. As soon as the journalist becomes a multi-sensory receiving mechanism, he'll start to recognize how much of what he is doing is occurring on the non-verbal level. It won't matter terribly whether the interview becomes directive (with the journalist holding full control, serving as the communication initiator) or indirective (with the interviewee calling the shots). In either case, the journalist can come to recognize the utility of absorbing and even manipulating the non-verbal environment to the end of satisfying the requirements of his journalistic assignment.

The importance of non-verbal communication is brought home by Mehrabian's suggestion that the amount of liking we have for another person is primarily communicated by us via non-verbal cues. His formula indicates that of the total affection or liking which we communicate to another person, only seven percent is communicated by words, while 38 percent is communicated by how we use our voice and 55 percent is the result of facial expressions. (53) Other researchers come up with

different percentages, but most agree that words are just the surface of our communicative efforts.

These non-verbal cues take many forms and serve many purposes. One of the problems in studying such cues, as Brooks and Emmert remind us, is the split between scholars over whether all non-verbal communication is intentional. We may make erroneous inferences if we assume total commonality of non-verbal cues and stimuli. Brooks and Emmert suggest it safer to assume all non-verbal communication to be stimuli which we can receive and interpret, but which do not have inherent meaning. In short, we should pay close attention to all available non-verbal stimuli and try to make inferences about them, but remember that we are making inferences which we should be prepared to readjust at any moment. Some non-verbal cues are communicative, created by their senders to consciously influence others; others are informative, providing information to the observer, even though the sender may not intend to be sending them; still others are attributive, having no direct relationship to the message intent but nevertheless affecting how we interpret the messages. (11, pp. 125-26) The difficulty is to recognize and utilize the differences among the cues.

Untrained observers usually notice obvious non-verbal cues, although they may not know or care whether those cues are communicative, informative or attributive. Contact: The First Four Minutes maintains that it is within the first few minutes of a first meeting that two strangers make a lot of important decisions about the future of their relationship. How the ice is broken during those minutes may determine how the entire interview proceeds. During those moments, the people are making judgments of each other's sincerity, trustworthiness, warmth, sensitivity and

competence. (78)

If untrained observers garner such information from non-verbal cues, it is no wonder some authors suggest that astute observers of non-verbal communication possess the power to subtly modify behavior of the unwitting. Metzler notes that through a subtle system of verbal and non-verbal rewards and punishments, people can be encouraged to use or avoid certain words or to say or do things in certain ways. He cites the legendary story of a professor who paced a lot and who was non-verbally cued to deliver his lecture standing motionless in a corner of the lecture hall. By pre-arrangement, students gave positive cues when he paced toward the corner (smiles, nods, rapt attention, alert posture), and negative cues when he paced away (dropping pencils, shuffling through pages, gazing away and similar signs of inattention). (55, p. 31)

Could a journalist skilled in the same techniques elicit Pavolvian responses from his news sources? Is the state of the art advanced to the point where certain non-verbal cues have such high predictability that one can engineer behavior? The evidence isn't in yet on that score. Back in 1949, anthropologist Edward Sapir wrote that "we respond to gestures with an extreme alertness, and, one might say, in accordance with an elaborate and secret code that is written nowhere, known by none, and understood by all." (62) A generation and millions of dollars later we have definitely found the existence of an elaborate code for meaningful expression. But, as Eisenberg and Smith say, the code, for the most part, remains unbroken...quickly adding that this is not grounds for abandoning the study of the emotional meaning of non-verbal messages. (19, p. 40)

One reason the code remains partially unbroken is that we spend

most of our formal schooling learning how to use words, even though we speak only 10 to 11 minutes a day. (11, p. 119) Little formal time is spent unraveling the mystery of non-verbal stimuli, so the studies of the subject which we spend so much time acting out but so little time trying to understand are being conducted somewhat sporadically by the professional communicators whose livelihoods depend upon predicting and assigning accurate meaning to the stimuli. The code, as it is now understood, consists of a series of "auxiliary messages" which serve to clarify, confirm or deny verbal messages, to reveal the attitudes, emotions and physical state of the sender, or to define the individual's social identity. (19, chapters 3 and 4) Let us look systematically at these various auxiliary messages.

Clues to Non-Verbal Cues: Auxiliary messages have been analyzed from numerous perspectives, and over the years several taxonomies have emerged. One of the most enduring systems of classification comes from Ruesch and Kress, who classify according to Sign Language (substitution of gestures for words, numbers and punctuation signs), Action Language (all movements not used solely as signals; many have both instrumental and communicative significance) and Object Language (the display of material things, either intentionally or unintentionally, which has the effect of expressing something about the displayer...clothing, furniture, architectural arrangement, the human body itself, etc.) (60)

Extending the Ruesch and Kress classification, Eisenberg and Smith maintain that useful distinctions should be made among the categories and subcategories of Paralanguage, Body Movements, Kinesics and Proxemics. (19) Borrowing on additional major areas of study from anthropologist Edward Hall, that of Time, (31) and a generalized category, Personal

Appearance, we have a comprehensive set of non-verbal communications areas, all of which have been studied and all of which offer insights to the journalistic interviewer.

Let us investigate the categories one by one.

I. PARALANGUAGE. This is another name for the non-verbal components of the speech act. For the sake of research, paralanguage is broken down into two major and several minor categories:

A. Voice Set includes elements such as volume, pitch, resonance, rate, and rhythm.

B. Non-Verbal Vocalizations include vocal characterizers, vocal qualifiers, and vocal segregates.

Studies of voice set and non-verbal vocalizations show that we can predict with a relatively high degree of accuracy the extent to which a speaker is confident, timid, excitable, afraid, serious, affectionate, self-important, confused, anxious, or a number of other psychological states.

To be more precise about Voice Set: A high-pitched voice indicates excitement, or perhaps fear. A low-pitched voice indicates seriousness, or sadness, or affection. (Obviously we need to look at other cues, but pitch is a good start.) If an adult female speaks in a high-pitched voice, it is often associated with her desiring to remain a child, despite her other attempts to demonstrate womanhood. Since we can, to some degree, change our pitch and voice quality (nasal, well-modulated, etc.), most of us, perhaps subconsciously, develop a voice quality that allows us to project a desired image. (1) A warning to the journalistic interviewer? Beware accepting the stereotype the interviewee is attempting to foist upon you. Voice set is probably giving him or her away.

The rate and rhythm of speech have been extensively analyzed by psychiatrists and others, and their research findings hold promise for the journalist. Pearce and Conklin found that the faster we speak the more we tend to convey an impression of excitement and importance; slowness of speech conveys a relaxed atmosphere. (57) Stewart and Cash point out that an anxiety-laden interview tends to fluster and disrupt speech by increasing the rate and amount of speaking and decreasing silence and hesitation. (69, p. 42) Kanfer found in psychiatric interviews that the verbal rate of an interviewee increases significantly as the emotional impact of a topic increases. (30) Finally, Brady's analysis of journalistic interviews concluded that rushed speech and unfinished sentences were among the sure ways to find out that your interviewee is getting anxious. (Brady also included stutterings, a perspiring upper lip, and "I dunno, I dunno, I dunno"as sure signs of anxiety.) (10, p. 144)

The concepts of speech rate and anxiety cues bring us to a consideration of those Non-Verbal Vocalizations mentioned above. The three subcategories of vocalizations are a) vocal characterizers such as yawning, laughing, sobbing, moaning or belching; b) vocal qualifiers such as momentary variations of pitch or volume, and c) vocal segregates such as the sounds or silences which appear between the articulation of words--"uh," "ah," "mmm," are examples, as are the utilization of silence itself.

Considering voice set and non-verbal vocalizations together, Mahl and Schulze find that a self-confident person may speak in relatively simple sentences with well controlled pitch and volume, and with few sighs or nervous coughs. An insecure person, on the other hand, may

speak in complex, involved or even unfinished sentences, with poor pitch and volume control, and with frequent nervous mannerisms. (51, p. 51)

In an earlier article, Mahl outlined eight categories of voice set and non-verbal vocalizations which offer psychotherapists excellent insights into a patient's levels of anxiety and other disturbances. The list consisted of 1) "ah," "eh," "uh" and "uhm" utterances; 2) sentence change (e.g., "well she's. . .already she's lonesome"); 3) repetition (e.g. "cause they. . .they get along"); 4) stutter; 5) omission (e.g., 'she mour. . .was in mourning'); 6) sentence incompletion (e.g., "year last week I. . .ah. . ."); 7) tongue slips; 8) intruding incoherent sound. All describe anxiety, but they also indicate communicative intent: the higher the intent, the fewer such disturbances were observed. Of special significance is Mahl's category #2, sentence change. He says observers view sentence changes as possible deceiving-screening devices, and that common experience suggests that when a speaker appears to change his/her line of thought or selection of words in "mid-stream" he/she may be screening information, or is in someway being cautious about what is said. (50) Some observers may perceive this is being less rather than more communicative. (50, 51 and 13)

One observation from all of this is that an interviewee who appears too polished and too smooth, with a bare minimum of negative voice set and non-verbal vocalizations, may turn people off because they assume he's insincere and unnatural. It's been suggested that Richard Nixon's press conferences left this impression on people...it would be interesting to compare Nixon's self-assuredness in press conferences and speeches with his negative voice set and non-verbal vocalizations revealed in the White House tapes.

Silence and its uses--a most intriguing area of study for the interviewer. Stewart and Cash tell us that the interviewee will continue to talk if the silence after his initial response is longer than one or two seconds. (69, p. 50) Sherwood notes that silence is a most effective journalistic tool--unless the silence becomes deafening (which it tends to do after five or ten seconds)--the interviewee will suddenly remember an additional point he wanted to make, or will clarify an earlier observation. If the interviewer is taking a couple of seconds to round off a quote or finish a note from a preceding statement by the interviewee, the interviewee will either seize the moment and use it to pontificate, or will, after that magic 5-10 second mark, freeze up. (66) Clinicians have known this for years, as have good journalists. Both, in fact, know that sometimes a prolonged silence will seem to be telling the interviewee that his previous response is being seriously questioned as to veracity or appropriateness, even though the interviewer hasn't said a word. In any case, the tool is there to be used.

There are far more findings about paralanguage than we can go into at this point, but, as we move into a consideration of the next broad category of body movement or kinesics, it will be seen how paralanguage fits the overall patterns of non-verbal cues available for the journalist to understand and perhaps to exploit.

II. KINESICS: BODY LANGUAGE. A popular song some years ago said "Her lips tell you no no, but there's yes in her eyes." And perhaps, we might add, in her posture, gestures, emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays, and adaptors...and perhaps in the way she uses space and time. But more on that later.

Recently we have observed a flurry of popular books, tv shows,

magazine articles, etc., on body language. Many "experts" say that they can determine more about a person by the way he stands and sits than the person knows about himself. Medical, legal, psychiatric and other research offer little support for these pretentious claims, however. Years of carefully controlled laboratory experiments offer a slowly increasing body of knowledge on how we communicate, consciously or unconsciously, with our bodies. To date, however, we're not as far along as the "experts" seem to be saying.

One of the leading writers on body language, P. Ekman, has written that body position and facial expression spontaneously shown during an interview are not random activity, but have specific communicative value related to the verbal behavior. He has also argued that this relationship is not obscure or available to only the privileged few, but can be detected by untrained observers. (21, 21, 22 and 23) Much of the study on body language has centered around comparing the abilities of trained and untrained observers not only to detect, but to infer the appropriate meaning of such non-verbal communication.

Birdwhistle has been concerned with those elements of body-motion behavior that he sees as being communicational, learned and patterned. (7) He calls these "kinesics," and as such they have been profusely studied and qualified in works such as Non-Verbal Communication by Ruesch and Kress. (60) One of the most comprehensive listings of these body movements is found in Ekman and Friesen's 1969 work. (21) Their breakdown is as follows:

A. Emblems: the gestural equivalents of a word or phrase. They are learned by imitation, and at least one source (19, pp. 33-34) maintains that a systematic definition of emblems is relatively useless

to the serious student of non-verbal communication.

B. Illustrators: directly linked to speech, they illustrate what is being said orally. Pointing, depicting a bodily movement, gesturing in time with one's vocalizations, designating, etc., are examples of these learned-by-imitation, socially and culturally controlled cues.

C. Regulators: actions which serve to control oral interaction... head nodding, leaning forward or backward, breaking or maintaining eye contact, raising eyebrows. All are forms of feedback. How we use them depends on the knowledge we gain through observation.

D. Affect Displays: body expressions which indicate the emotional state of the communicator. Facial expressions are the principle means... Eisenberg and Smith say affect displays (anger, fear, disgust) are not tightly bound to verbal expression and tend to be less consciously controllable than emblems, illustrators or regulators. Thus they'd be a good means for the astute interviewer to check the veracity of the interviewee.

E. Adaptors: three types-- 1) self-adaptors, such as mouth wiping, remnants of a learned activity toward one's own body; 2) alter-adaptors, such as movements learned in the process of manipulating material things; and 3) object adaptors, such as using a tool, or smoking, gestures which indicate rearrangement. They're relatively unconscious, and a skilled observer can tell much about an adaptor's socialization experience and emotional state.

From these five categories, research on illustrators, regulators and affect displays offers the most insight to the journalistic interviewer.

A great deal of attention has been paid the role of the illustrator.

Generally such research deals with the gesture as a non-verbal communication device. While many gestures are used as complementary stimulus messages, the hands and fingers can be used as symbols themselves. The A-OK sign, the upraised middle finger, the upraised clenched fist, etc., are readily understood. But how many of us consciously recognize that when our palms are pointing down, our message is considered to be more assured, certain and aggressive, and that when the palms are pointing up, we appear more uncertain and seem to be qualifying what we're saying and sometimes even asking for someone to help us out? (11) A classic example of the study of hand gestures as indices of emotion was recorded by New York Times reporter J. Gould, describing the behavior of a suspected mobster being interrogated by a Senate committee: "As he (Costello) sparred with Rudolph Halley, the committee's counsel, the movement of his fingers told their own emotional story. When the questions got rough, Costello crumpled a handkerchief in his hands. Or he rubbed his palms together. Or he interlaced his fingers. Or he grasped a half-filled glass of water. Or he beat a silent tattoo on the table top. Or he rolled a little ball of paper between his thumb and index finger. Or he stroked the side piece of his glasses lying on the table. His was video's first ballet of the hands." One wonders how many early-1950s tv viewers were as critical in their observations as Mr. Gould. (28) That Mr. Gould's powers of observation might have been valid can be seen in a research report by Sainsbury, "Gestural Movement During Psychiatric Interview." (61) The study indicated that significantly more gestural movements were made during stressful periods in interviews than in non-stressful periods and were consistently related to the content of the interview. Interestingly enough, gestural

movements were also closely related to heartbeat rate...so all the journalistic interviewer has to do is take motion pictures of his interviewee, who would be carefully strapped to an EEG and EKG machine.

Gestures are closely related to the regulators, particularly the utilization of posture as a non-verbal cue. Eisenberg and Smith say the line between the two cannot be clearly drawn. (19) Some gestures can involve the entire body--as quickly leaning back in the chair to indicate surprise or disagreement. Usually, however, gestures are with appendages or extremities or a visible body movement which carries expressive meaning. Experiments show we have common understandings about the use of the hands to demonstrate pleading, thoughtfulness, surprise, fear, determination, anxiety, warning and satisfaction. (12) One level on which gestures and other body movements must mesh is on a level designated as "myokinetic rhythm." As outlined by Eisenberg and Smith, people who move slowly are hypokinetic, and those who move rapidly are hyperkinetic. And the two types can easily irritate one another in a communication situation. "Let us note," Eisenberg and Smith say, "that regardless of causes or eliciting circumstances, speed of movement can be judged as appropriate or inappropriate only in relation to the needs of those engaged in an interaction." (19, pp. 100-01) The application of this to the journalistic interview becomes obvious, as journalists can generally recall interviews in which they and their sources were myokinetically dissonant, either due to inherent character traits or to the conditions under which the interviews were conducted. How can it help but have a major influence over the interview's success or failure?

Numerous other studies of regulators have been conducted, ranging from insights into wiggling toes to the slouch..with special attention

being given to head nodding, leaning, eye contact and the use of the eyebrow as a communications weapon.

Research on posture shows that posture communicates meaning, is learned, and is significant in social interaction. James concluded that "postures do give clues to attitude, and placement of the trunk and head contributes most to the interpretation of posture." (36) Posture reflects degree of involvement (lean into the center of the group if you're interested in what's going on, lean away if not), and indicates the degree of social tension (in heated exchange interactants are likely to sit or stand more erect than usual), plus indicating when a person is entering into or exiting from a particular role (note how the slouching student sits or stands erect when called upon for recitation, then resumes his slouch as soon as he's finished).

Body posture tells us a lot about the end of an interview or communication. Often the conclusion to a conversation comes when one participant stands up (this is most definitely true if you're interviewing the President of the United States and he stands up...there's no record of it, but journalists are probably shot at sunrise for asking one more question after that significant body movement). A fascinating set of nonverbal cues that terminate interviews has been offered by Knapp, Hart, Friedrich and Schulman. (45) Most of them involve body posture or gestures:

1. Left positioning. The interviewer or interviewee points his legs and/or feet toward the door and away from the interview partner.

2. Forward leaning. The interviewer or interviewee leans toward the interview partner. (Note: leaning forward in the chair indicates an interest in the conversation, but if we've been sitting back in our

chairs throughout the conversation, a sliding forward indicates a desire to terminate the interview. The two should not be confused. But have you ever tried to terminate an interview with the leaning motion and found your source thinking you were just beginning to hang on his every word? Or vice versa?)

3. Hand leveraging: The interviewer or interviewee places his hands on knees or legs (or on the chair) in such a way that, by straightening his arms, he could assist himself in rising from the chair.

4. Explosive hand contact: A rapid striking movement in which the hand(s) come in contact with either another part of the body (usually the thighs) or a foreign object (e.g., school books)--usually a slapping or striking motion.

5. Sweeping hand movement: An elongated, usually lateral, movement of the hands and arms in which the hands moved outside of the spatial perimeter of the upper torso--often a waving or sweeping motion.

6. Handshake: a concluding grasp, not a "false start."

7. Major leg movement: Leg movements that result in a significant change in posture (e.g., crossing, uncrossing, left or right movements).

8. Explosive foot contact: A rapid striking movement in which the foot (or feet) come into contact with the floor--as if to catapult.

9. Breaking eye contact: Perceptible motions of looking away from the face area of the interview partner (e.g., looking up, down, to the left or to the right; it means one thing when the source stops looking into your eyes and checks his watch, quite another when he starts checking his calendar.)

10. Smiling: Actual smiles, not hard-to-distinguish grins.

11. Major nodding movement: Forward and backward motion of the hand.

12. Major trunk movement: Trunk motions that necessitate a change in posture (e.g., shifting back and forth, leaning back, straightening up, standing up, etc.) (Above 12 points as summarized by Stewart and Cash, 69.)

In sum, Stewart and Cash maintain that these verbal and non-verbal "leavetaking" actions are listed for our understanding of how we close interviews, consciously or unconsciously. "We must decide for ourselves which means or combination of means best suits us and the interview in which we are involved. There are a number of guidelines for choosing the proper closing for counseling interviews. For instance, both interviewer and interviewee should be able to tell when the real closing is taking place--avoid false finishes... The way you close an interview can enhance or ruin all that was accomplished during the interview." (69, p. 201)

And what of crossed toes and wiggling legs, or was it wiggling toes and crossed legs?

For what it's worth, witnesses in Hindu courts are reported to give indications of the truth of their statements by the movements of their toes. That piece of information is in M. H. Krout's Ph.D. dissertation. (46)

And leg-crossing? Brooks and Emmert say it is possible to appear relaxed in a legs-crossed position, and that males generally cross with the angle of one leg resting upon the knee of the other; females, with the back of one knee resting over the other knee. (11) But there's not a great deal of empirical research on what this means. One child psychiatrist cited by John Brady said that while the upper part of the body may appear quite at ease, the interviewee's tension and anxiety

will be evident if he is curling his ankles around the leg of the desk. (10, p. 186)

It's a short walk from consideration of regulators to consideration of affect displays, where the eyes have it. Some research on eye-contact and eye-blinking has fallen under the rubric of regulators, while others consider it affect display. Perhaps a distinction could come with the idea that the breaking of eye contact is a regulator, while maintenance of eye contact and extent of blinking might be affect display.

Research on eye contact has been widespread. Since the eyes are the most expressive organs in the highly expressive face, they are carefully scrutinized by psychiatrists, lawyers and various clinicians. Unfortunately, however, there is disagreement over whether all the research has been conclusive.

Knapp argues that while the face is probably the most expressive part of our bodies, it also appears to be one part of our body whose non-verbal behavior we are best able to control. While the lack of eye contact causes some people to interpret a person's message as insincere, practiced liars find that they can make extremely good use of direct eye contact, appearing sincere while lying to conceal their insincerity. Knapp found it was very difficult for people to determine when a communicator was sincere or insincere, on the basis of facial cues. (43, pp. 103-05)

Journalist Roger Bennett disagrees. His doctoral research demonstrated that carefully trained observers can detect subconscious facial expressions like a witness blinking or furrowing a brow or frowning. Bennett found that eyeblinks, for instance, ordinarily take just a fifth of a second, but in the case of liars (either his trained liars

or Watergate and other court witnesses subsequently found to have been lying) the eyeblinks lasted only a 40th of a second. Videotapes of liars, played at reduced speeds, gave Bennett's journalism students the insights they needed to detect deception in their journalistic interviewing. (2)

Regardless of the control interviewers and interviewees have over facial cues, there are other affect displays and bodily cues, especially in hands, feet or body posture, by which we communicate subconsciously. Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth maintain that at least seven categories of emotion can be accurately detected from facial expressions alone: happiness, surprise, fear, anger, sadness, disgust/contempt and interest. (23) And Levitt says that despite the realms of contradictory evidence in the area of facial cues, one solid conclusion is that joy is most accurately judged from faces--and fear from the voice.(49)

So what?

Maybe Eisenberg and Smith have a handle on the problem with their analysis that recent research argues that neither the face nor the context can carry the burden of expressive meaning. "If the meaning of a facial expression is clear, and the context in which it occurs is ambiguous, then the face is the most salient message source. If the reverse is true, then the context will carry the most meaning... In America, our social rules generally require the masking of certain emotional reactions...our tendency is toward stoicism, an avoidance of exaggerated expressive behavior." (19) Consider, if you would, the involuntary cues we give off and the possibility of a skilled observer knowing us better because he can read our faces. Brooks and Emmert note the physiological nature of some of these: Anger is seen by a reddening

of the face due to the adrenaline in the bloodstream and dilated blood vessels resulting in a flushed face. Interest or attention may be seen in dilated pupils of the eyes (Jade dealers in the Far East are reputed to be able to determine when someone is interested in a particular piece of jade by noting the dilation of pupils in the customer's eyes--despite what the customer might be saying about the jade with his lips and the rest of his body). (11, pp. 139-40)

Additional insights into the communication of eye-movement and eye-contact are presented by Eisenberg and Smith, in their chapter on culture and non-verbal meanings in America. The authors say that people who prefer communication over control look significantly more at others while they are speaking, except in competitive situations, when high affiliators tend to engage in less mutual glancing, and low affiliators tend to increase such activity. They quote Exline as saying that the reversing effect is considerably stronger among women than among men. Women establish more visual interaction than men in noncompetitive situations and less visual interaction than men in competitive ones. In the former cases, women are said to be using gaze to establish communion; in the latter, women are trying to reduce the unpleasant visual stimuli of others' facial cues indicating the rejection and antagonism generated by competition. (19, pp. 93-94)

Eisenberg and Smith continue that reducing eye-contact makes greater proximity possible and greater proximity reduces eye-contact. (Note that primary components of intimacy are eye contact, physical proximity, intimacy of topic, and frequency of smiling. If a person moves closer to you and the situation becomes too intimate, you can restore equilibrium by moving further away, by reducing eye contact, by

changing to a less intimate topic, or by smiling less often.) (19, p.94)

And, as a final reminder that eye contact does not necessarily indicate that the truth is being spoken, Brady notes that, practically speaking, it is impossible to tell by non-verbal evidence whether a person is lying or telling the truth. The journalistic interviewer may have to combine careful reading of both verbal and non-verbal cues, and the best solution may be to insert a variety of screening questions at random throughout the interview. Even if the interviewer doesn't hear the source lying, he may notice his pupils dilate and his slight motor reactions during periods of slight anxiety. But unless those questions are carefully phrased, the journalist may never get that chance to look for the non-verbal cues. If one is especially alert, he might notice that the small muscles of the fingers and jaw often give information similar to that given by nervous curling of the feet around the corner of a desk. Brady's child psychiatrist reminds us that tiny changes in the eyelids are also invaluable clues--a slight widening when an interviewee is frightened, and a slight closing when hostile or thoughtful. But a skilled interviewer shouldn't stop there. He should take a look at minor skin changes, including slight flushing, pallor, and sweating. (10, pp. 186-187)

Let's move into the relatively unconscious realm of adaptors. We'll recall that the three types of adaptors (self-adaptors, alter-adaptors and object adaptors) were said to be relatively unconscious, and a skilled observer can derive much information about socialization and emotion from reading such cues. A brief but provocative research piece by Freedman sheds some light on the non-verbal adaptors. Object-focused movements (gestures which have a characteristic directionality

in that they tend to occur at a distance from the body and do not involve body touching) gain their significance because they occur as the speaker actively seeks the attention of the listener; they are speech-related. Body-focused movements, however (movement toward the body, involving actual body touching, such as hand-to-hand, hand-to-body, etc.) do not bear a direct relationship to what is being said. That is, they signify low communicative intent--they do not mobilize verbal, vocal, postural and movement channels in the transmission of information to a listener. Three kinds of body-focused gestures are: indirect symbolic (involving manipulation of objects such as clothing, a pen, etc. with the hands),direct hand-to-hand movements involving continuous stimulation of the hands by each other, and direct hand-to-body movements that are continuous, repetitive movements involving body touching with the hand(s). They generally don't tell us much about the message the communicator is trying to get across. Indeed, they are thought to be characterized by a split in the individual's attention. Freedman predicts that under conditions of high communicative intent individuals are expected to demonstrate more fully articulated verbal behavior as well as increased object-focused movement. (25) Freedman's studies were conducted on mentally disturbed individuals in clinical settings, and it's not certain just how applicable his findings are to the normal journalistic interview situation.

So much for body language. Let's turn our attention to the language of space--PROXEMICS.

Broadly defined, proxemics refers to the relationships between the communicator's body and other people or objects in the environment. As such, it includes the concepts of psychological space, territoriality,

personal space, tactile communication, and, peripherally, such things as the arrangement of our environment including architecture, furniture, etc.

Eisenberg and Smith observe that Americans are one of the most distance conscious cultures of all. (19) The psychological distance or space with which people are comfortable varies from culture to culture, as a student of Hall's The Silent Language will attest. (31) For the American, particularly the northeastern United States resident, Hall has diagrammed four different kinds of distance employed in communication: Taking from or trading cues with Ardrey and his concept of Territorial Imperative and the well-defined territories around ourselves which we will defend rather than permit to be invaded, Hall's The Hidden Dimension said we're aware of 1) Intimate Distance (0-18" apart), 2) Personal Distance (18"-4'), 3) Social Distance (4-12') and 4) Public Distance (12' and beyond). Each "Distance" has both "close" and "far" phases, and we tend to know how to behave within and defend each of them. (30)

Practical applications of the hidden dimensions for journalists are numerous. Recalling my repeated unpleasant feelings about interviewing a certain city planner, I realize he had the habit of putting his arm around my shoulder, bringing his face up close to mine, peering around to make certain no one was listening, then laying on me one of those "This-is-between-you, me-and-the-lampost" spiels. Why was I grossed out? Not because he never told me anything worthwhile, but because he was violating my personal space, taking what should have been a far phase personal distance interview and turning it into a near phase intimate distance one. The journalist seems to recognize appropriate

distances to be used during interviews. Personal distance is permitted if the interview is of intimate nature or if we're sitting across a cafe table, over coffee as in a social exchange, or across a desk or some other barrier. We note that our tone of voice, plus volume, etc. vary accordingly. Social and public interviews are obviously intimate, and are often for public consumption. If the furniture is arranged so we can't get any closer than four feet from the subject, we'll find it difficult to discuss intimate or strongly held subject matter with the interviewee. Impersonal business discussions are typical of the social distance close phase (4-7 feet), and more formal business discussions (including group discussions) from 7-12 feet.

We have to consider sex as a variable here, also. It's inappropriate for a man and woman to converse at intimate or personal stages without sexual overtones distorting the communication environment. On the other hand, to hold a dyadic interview at a distance of 7-12 feet without any physical barriers separating communicators is awkward. Don't overlook cultural variations here. Hall reminds us that a "comfortable" distance for a Latin American is seen as a hostile or sexual distance by North Americans...and, as we withdraw from his advances, the Latin American feels we're the ones being hostile. Another cultural variation, cited by K. E. Johnson, occurs when a Black turns his back on a White and does not face him directly during interpersonal communication. Before the White misreads the cue as being a hostile one, he should remember Johnson's insight into this particular Black gesture which actually indicates friendliness and trust, and essentially says "Look, I trust you so much that in greeting you I unhesitatingly place myself in a vulnerable position." (37)

It may be useful to distinguish between "Territory" and "Personal Space." Territory is seen as a stationary area, and the individual--the possessor of this area--will fight to maintain its visible boundaries. Personal space, on the other hand, is mobile. It moves with the body always at its center. The boundaries are invisible, and the individual will flee rather than fight if an intrusion is made into this space. We all have our plastic bubbles and we'll manipulate our bodies in such a way as to keep the walls of our bubbles intact. (67) Possession of territory is used to express status and dominance. As a rule, the greater an individual's prestige, the larger the territory he will control. Power to defend one's own territory and the right to invade that of others are also signs of dominance and prestige. The rigidity with which rules about territoriality are respected depends upon a host of factors, among which the immediate personal needs of the interactants are certainly important. If a person feels a strong need for protection from others, or a need to control a situation, he may well stress territorial rights. The type of relationship between communicators may also be important, for personal relationships require less formal observance of territorial boundaries than do business relationships. (19, p. 103)

Again, the applications to the journalistic interview should be obvious. A sensitive journalist recognizes the feelings of power, security, prestige, etc., in his news source, and plays the interview within those parameters. Unless he can take the pretentious executive out of the executive suite and into the coffee shop, where they can interact more as equals, the journalist will be forced to operate within the non-verbal games of proxemics. Notice the extreme differences

between two interviews with the same source, in one case in his office, where he calls all the non-verbal shots, and in the other in the newsroom, where his senses of territoriality are mitigated. As a "control experiment," hold another interview with the same person; this time do it in neutral territory, in a coffee shop or on the street. "See" the differences?

As another application of the principles of proxemics, the journalist should recognize the significance of the simple distance between himself and his source and how the angles at which they are sitting affects the interaction. Since an individual tends to communicate more with a person sitting at right angles to him than with a person sitting by his side, interviews across the edge of a desk are probably going to be more fruitful than interviews with both parties on a couch. Legal studies research on jury interactions also tells us that the more personal the conversation, the closer people will sit to one another. The larger the room, the closer people will sit to one another. In competitive situations, members tend to sit at a distance and opposite from one another, whereas members of groups that are cooperating prefer to sit at right angles. (Apparently competitors feel they can watch one another more closely.) If we sit where we can inconspicuously watch others, we'll feel greater affiliation, because we can see others' reactions and don't have to feel self-conscious about their seeing ours. (70) Still another study showed that introverted and high-anxious students, as defined by questionnaires, kept a greater physical distance from the investigator (choosing a farther chair) than did extraverted and low-anxious students. Stress conditions also resulted in greater distance, as seen by students who had their choices of several seats when

they came in for stressful interviews. (48) Who hasn't walked into the office of a "superior" (professional, legal, what have you) and sensed discomfort when recognizing a variety of places to sit or stand but not receiving any definite cues as to where to settle?

Wodgery and Stackpole discovered that students (interviewees) who expressed high anxiety during an interview perceived the credibility of the interviewer to be higher when there was no desk between them than when a desk was present. Conversely, student interviewees who expressed low anxiety in the interview assigned higher credibility to the interviewer when he sat behind a desk. If one combines the Wodgery and Stackpole findings (76) with the Strodbeck and Hook (70) plus Leipold (48) findings, one could set off on some interesting non-verbal experimentation of his own.

Other environmental influences to be considered include color, light, time of day, temperature, etc. The color of the room is significant, for instance, since cool colors such as blues and greens appear to be more restful and tend to cause us to be quieter and more unresponsive, while warm colors such as yellow and red appear to make us more responsive and excitable. (11, p. 142) Given the opportunity to "stage" an interview, the journalist would do well to remember this.

Two more general areas of non-verbal communication should be investigated: GENERAL NON-VERBAL ATTRIBUTES, including PERSONAL APPEARANCE, and the communicator's use of TIME as a non-verbal variable.

Brooks and Emmert define Non-Verbal Attributes as physical characteristics unrelated to any specific message but nevertheless having significant effect on our effectiveness in interpersonal communication. Among them are general physical attractiveness, height, skin color and

gender. To dispense with the latter ones first, it has been shown that a premium is placed on male height, that higher salaries, positions of authority, credibility, and success with women upon first impression is largely related to this particular non-verbal attribute. (I'm 5-4, so I don't agree with these finding.) In terms of skin color, experiments have shown that all else being equal, caucasions are perceived as being more credible than non-caucasions. In terms of gender, even females consider males to be generally more credible than females. Finally, Brooks and Emmert conclude that while general physical attractiveness is an ambiguous quality, more attractive people are generally considered more intelligent, personable, sensitive, warm, responsive, kind, interesting, modest, sociable and outgoing. (11 and 16) Even after we've gotten to know someone well enough to get over superficialities of physical attractiveness, attractiveness itself continues to have its effect--and one of its major effects is that the more attractive you are, the more credible you will appear. (Ugly journalists, take note.)

Eisenberg and Smith refer to personal appearance and clothing as "object language" and say they are relatively stable characteristics of personality and social position. We have stereotypes based on somatotyping (the relationships between body build and personality) that influence our continued perceptions. Mesomorphs (muscular types), endomorphs (overweight types) and ectomorphs (underweight types) are typecast, and, there is little scientific evidence to support the enduring stereotypes. (19, p. 107) A word of warning to the journalist: Don't engage in a "reverse stereotype" to compensate for the consensus stereotypes. If you find a news source who proves to be the psychological opposite of the prevailing stereotype of that somatotype, you're

compounding the misfortunate public opinion by concentrating on his "uniqueness" (man-bites-dog?).

Clothing? Clothes are "sign objects." To the wearer, they represent an effort to control the reactions of others, and to the observer, they are the means by which individuals can be socially classified. (19, p. 107) Not only that, but in some cases clothes make a fascinating personality/psychological inventory readily available. A. M. Rosenthal wrote in the New York Times of the wide variance between the private manners and public behavior of the Japanese, and noted, along with other observers with varying degrees of astonishment, that there is a direct relationship between the politeness of a Japanese and whether or not he is wearing shoes! (It was such a good anecdote I had to work it in somewhere in this paper...) (59)

Brooks and Emmert refer to clothing, hair cut, facial hair, the use of pipes and cigarettes and cigars, etc. as communicative behavior, that which makes use of non-verbal cues purposively to affect others. As such, their meanings should not be lost on observant journalists. The authors say all of the above factors can be manipulated deliberately and used in a symbolic manner for the purpose of influencing other individuals. For example, people wearing beards are frequently perceived as more sensitive, more masculine, more intelligent, and warmer than people who do not wear them...but they're also perceived as more likely to be radical, independent and less group oriented. Beard growing, at least for men, is a conscious decision. So are facial and eye makeup for women: Eye makeup makes eyes look larger; when the pupils of the eye are dilated, a woman is perceived as more sexually attractive. (Didn't we say earlier that this was also a sign of fear and anxiety? Oh well.)

Likewise, the conscious decision to smoke cigarettes, cigars or pipes is constantly sending out non-verbal smoke signals to anyone who cares to read them...or smell them. Pipes in particular may be affectations, especially when smoked by young graduate students who want to create the image of someone who is solid, calm and thoughtful. (11)

Before turning our attention toward the concept of time as a non-verbal cue, let's take one last serious look at a piece of empirical research that holds important messages for journalists. In a 1966 study on physical attractiveness, Kleck found that when people interacted with a physically handicapped person (in the experiment, a left-leg amputee in a wheelchair), they a) terminated the interactions sooner, b) demonstrated less variability in their verbal behavior, and c) expressed opinions which were less representative of their actual beliefs. (42) They also, in a later and similar experiment, 1) demonstrated greater motoric inhibition, 2) formed a more positive impression of the handicapped person than of the non-handicapped, and 3) distorted their opinions in the direction of making them more consistent with those assumed to be held by disabled persons. Granted, the subjects were junior high students. But the stereotyping and selective perceptions and cognitive struggling involved should create a caveat for journalists. (41)

What does Time have to do with this discussion of non-verbals?

Plenty. All we have to do is remember how Abe Lincoln used to schedule his complex cabinet meetings for late in the afternoons when he knew people would be anxious to complete business and rush home. It worked every time, or so we've heard. And there's a message for us.

Edward Hall, in The Silent Language, devotes several pages to a

discussion of the importance of time as a non-verbal influence in our lives and communications experiences. Rather than elaborate on the cultural differences between what it means to "arrive on time," we should merely take a look at some significant influences in Americans' concepts of appropriateness re time.

"Informally, for important daytime business appointments in the eastern United States between equals, there are eight time sets in regard to punctuality and length of appointments: on time, five, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty-five minutes and one hour early or late. Keeping in mind that situations vary, there is a slightly different behavior pattern for each point, and each point on the scale has a different meaning. As for the length of appointments, an hour with an important person is different from thirty minutes with that same person... As for punctuality no right-minded American would think of keeping a business associate waiting for an hour; it would be too insulting. No matter what is said in apology, there is little that can remove the impact of an hour's heel-cooling in an outer office." (31, p. 136) (Recall the scene in the film All the President's Men, when Dustin Hoffman/Carl Bernstein spends the day outside the prosecuting attorney's office in Miami? Or the scene in The Heart is a Lonely Hunter?)

Hall continues: "Even the five-minute period has its significant subdivisions. When equals meet, one will generally be aware of being two minutes early or late but will say nothing, since the time in this case is not significant. At three minutes a person will still not apologize or feel that it is necessary to say anything (three is the first significant number in the one-to-five series); at five minutes there is usually a short apology; and at four minutes before or after the hour the person

will mutter something, although he will seldom complete the muttered sentence."

In a fascinating discussion of the differences between "diffused" and "displaced" point patterns, Hall notes how different values about timeliness will result in misunderstandings. Taking 8:30 as the "point," participants in the displaced point pattern (such as my wife) will arrive ahead of time anywhere from 8 a.m. to 8:27 a.m. (cutting it fine), with the majority arriving around 8:25 a.m. Diffused point people will arrive anywhere from 8:25 a.m. to 8:45 a.m....and there is practically no overlap between the two. (31, p. 145) The ramifications for journalists are significant, especially if the journalist and his interviewees hold contradictory concepts of timeliness. Many an interview has gone awry due to the journalist arriving a few minutes late and trying to extend the interview beyond the implicitly agreed upon time frame; we seldom hear about the journalist who arrives and leaves too early!

Notetaking and Notetaping. One of the most fascinating and complex ways in which non-verbal communication enters the interviewing picture is when the time comes for the journalist to whip out the trusty spiral bound notepad and Flair pen, and/or lay the tape recorder on the table and hope the intimacy of the interview hasn't been ruined. What advice do the pros have to offer?

Brady notes that there is an optimum time to open the notebook. Unfortunately, sometimes it never arrives. Rex Reed deliberately shows up without a pencil and things like that to convince his subjects that he can make mistakes. It may be empathic trickery, but it allows Reed the opener he needs to start taking notes. (Recall the scene in All the President's Men when Hoffman/Bernstein squirmed his way into the bookkeeper's

house and used every piece of available paper to get down what she didn't want to tell him in the first place?) Brady points out that many people talk more fluently when the reporter simply slouches in a chair or stands around with his hands in his pockets as in a casual conversation between friends.

But when the time comes to get the notebook out..."easing it out of the back pocket," as Brady says...the reporter had better be careful. "To the wary or timid, this action could bring increased uneasiness, for it will remind him that what he says will go into print. If the subject is obviously uneasy about the interview and is likely to be frightened by the sight of a notebook, the interviewer should hold back, get a conversation going, and introduce the notebook at some uplifting statement (not during a blast at some political enemy or an ex-wife), and use a statement like, 'I want to make sure I get that name right,' or 'That's good. I want to be sure I get that just right,'" Brady quotes writer Paul Sheehan as saying. (10, p. 126)

Stewart and Cash, along with Sherwood, lay out a set of guidelines for notetaking, all of which center around the non-verbal aspects of the interview. Their list: (69, 66)

1. To avoid interfering with the communication climate of the interview, maintain eye contact while taking notes, be as inconspicuous as possible, use abbreviations or shorthand to speed note-taking and to avoid gaps in the interview while you are writing, or learn to remember materials so all information will not have to written down.

(NOTE that most journalists learn these systems almost automatically, usually without having to be told, perhaps through the subtle system of non-verbal rewards and punishments inherent in interviews. Novelist

Truman Capote's claim that he trained himself to reach near-perfect recall and thereby avoid taking notes until the interview was concluded has been frequently posed as a challenge for journalists to emulate.)

2. To avoid communicating to the respondent what you think is important, do not begin to take notes frantically during or immediately after an answer; take notes throughout the interview (even if you must pretend to do so at times), or delay note-taking on an answer until the respondent is answering another question.

(NOTE the possible contradictions here. Sometimes you want the respondent to know you're especially interested in what he has to say. In this case, notetaking is a non-verbal reward for the interviewee, just as not taking notes may appear to be a non-verbal punishment. Many journalists have learned that not taking notes at certain points in the interview is a good non-verbal indicator for the source to get back on the track.)

3. To avoid excessive respondent curiosity or concern about what you are writing, ask permission before taking notes, explain why note-taking is necessary, show the source your notes occasionally, or ask him to check your notes for accuracy.

(NOTE the problem with offering right of review. Allowing the source to recognize your dedication to accuracy and completeness is one thing. Opening yourself up to manipulation and control is quite another. The right of review, while granted or withheld verbally, is a significant psychological--and hence non-verbal--factor in the implicit establishment of a trusting or non-trusting relationship. If the interviewee has been burned by inaccurate reporting in the past, the journalist's dutiful attention to notetaking and clarification of complex or contradictory

statements should appear to be what it in actuality is: an attempt to establish an empathic relationship.)

(The 1978 edition of Stewart and Cash includes additional advice on following ground rules for the interview and reviewing notes immediately afterward.)

A review of these generalizations shows that individual judgment and the journalist's ability to recognize his own and his source's motivations are essential. The same journalistic behavior under different interviewing situations may have entirely opposite results. For instance, Capote's method of not taking notes might work well on an informal or background interview, when the notepad may spoil spontaneity and become a non-verbal barrier. The notepad might create the Hawthorne effect, in which people behave differently when they know they are being scrutinized. However, in many--perhaps most--routine journalistic interviews, the notepad is a recognized tool of the journalist and is seen by both interviewer and interviewee as a vehicle essential to the maintenance of the appropriate environment and completion of the mutually-agreed-upon task. The judgment to recognize which condition demands which behavior probably comes to most journalists after one or two inappropriate uses or failures to use the notepad.

Just as there are pros and cons of notetaking, so are there ways to use and misuse the tape recorder in the journalistic interview. While there has been limited empirical research on the pros and cons of tape recording, many observers have made common sense conclusions about using the instrument. Stewart and Cash, again with an assist from Sherwood, remind us that "The tape recorder can record everything that is said and how it is said, can protect the interviewer from charges of

misquoting, and can pick up answers in a noisy crowd where note-taking is impossible. When using a tape recorder, the interviewer can relax and concentrate on questions and answers. Following the interview he can rehear both q's and a's. Unfortunately, tape recorders sometimes do not work...Tape recorders also record everything, including noises and unwanted discussions. Some people view them as an intruder in an intimate communication situation, and fear them because they reveal faulty grammar and poor voice quality and because they provide a permanent, undeniable record of answers...To reduce fear of tape recorders and to enhance the communication climate, ask permission to use the recorder, let the interviewee hear himself on tape, place the recorder in an inconspicuous place (out of sight if possible), and use a good, small microphone that need not be stuck in the respondent's face or jabbed from your face to his and back for each question and response." (69, p.97)

The above quote succinctly outlines many conditions to be borne in mind. But there are others. There are undoubtedly cases in which the journalist would want the tape recorder to appear to be a dominant factor in the interview, and would want the machine to stand prominently between him and his interviewee. For example, in a highly technical interview with a scientist or other source who is far more concerned with facts and figures being accurately quoted than with possibly stumbling over his words or revealing a personality quirk, the tape recorder should serve as a support mechanism to both parties. Or, in an interview with a highly colorful personality whose paralanguage (voice set and non-verbal vocalizations) present significant insights into his character--especially one who has been interviewed frequently and does not clam up beforethe machine--the tape recorder is useful. In addition,

judicious use of the on-off switch serves as a helpful reminder to the source that he may be deviating from the central point, wasting the interviewer's time, etc. Often, when the journalist has to take the few seconds necessary to change tapes or cassettes, the opportunity arises for him to ask the "zinger"--the tough question the source might have attempted to avoid while the machine is running. Then, if he's lucky, the interviewer can have the machine back in operation in time to record the answer which the interviewee started to give during "down time," since the interviewee may subsequently ignore the machine.

When it comes right down to it, most reservations about using the tape recorder are based on implicit recognition that the machine interferes with the dyadic communication process by interjecting at least a third party to the procedures. The mechanical third party may by extension and through multiple relistenings lead to an unlimited audience, a factor over which the interviewee has little control. Therefore it is only natural for the interviewee to hesitate to welcome the intruder. The wise journalist who knows how to establish and maintain dyadic rapport despite the mechanical party has probably gained enough interviewing skill to be unconcerned about many of the other issues raised in this paper.

Summary and Conclusions. This paper maintains, as have several serious students of communication, that the non-verbal elements of the communication environment are ultimately more significant than the verbal elements in determining the eventual success or failure of the interview. Based on research evidence and astute observations of some 78 different sources, many of whom have studied interviewing empirically in their attempts to improve their own abilities as psychologists, counselors,

lawyers, social workers, journalists and others, the paper attempts to outline key conclusions that serve as a helpful synthesis for journalistic interviewers. The effort consisted of a review of various motivations, barriers and biases inherent in interviews; recognition of non-verbal cues as communicative, informative or attributive; debates over the extent to which we have broken and can subsequently control the codes of paralanguage (including voice set and non-verbal vocalizations), body movements, kinesics (including emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays and adaptors), proxemics, non-verbal attributes (including personal appearance, attractiveness, height, skin color, and gender) and the use of time (by diffused point and displaced point persons); and, finally, some pros and cons of note-taking and note-taping as significant non-verbal elements in the interviewing process.

Some of the empirical conclusions contradict each other as well as the seat-of-the-pants conclusions proposed by veteran interviewers. This review of a varied literature can not, in and of itself, constitute a theory of journalistic interviewing. However, the state of non-verbal communication knowledge is rapidly advancing to the point where the journalist who chooses to ignore it does so at some risk--to himself, to his interviewee, to his news medium and ultimately to the public which expects the journalist to utilize all available informational and fact-gathering tools at his disposal.

REFERENCES

1. Addington, D. W. The relationship of selected vocal characteristics to personality perception. Speech Monographs, 1958, 35, 492-503.
2. Anonymous. 'Lie' Expressions Observed. United Press International, Dec. 14, 1976.
3. Ardrey, R. The territorial imperative. New York: Anchor Books, 1966.
4. Barker, L. Listening behavior. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1971.
5. Benjamin, A. The Helping interview. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969.
6. Benthall, J., and Polhemus, T. (Eds.) The body as a medium of expression. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1975.
7. Birdwhistle, R. Background to kinesics. ETC., 13, 1955, 10-18.
8. Boomer, D. S. Speech disturbance and body movement in interviews. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1963, 136, 263-266.
9. Boomer, D. S. and Dittmann, A. T. Speech rate, filler pause, and body movement in interviews. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1964, 139, 324-327.
10. Brady, J. The craft of interviewing. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
11. Brooks, W. D. and Emmert, P. Interpersonal communication. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1976.
12. Carmichael, L., Roberts, S. and Wessell, P. Emotion in the human face: Guidelines for research and a review of findings. Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press.
13. Cegala, D. J. and Maase, S. M. A study of perceived communicative intent from the perspective of actors and observers; unpublished paper presented to International Communications Association, Berlin, May, 1977.

14. Darwin, C. The expression of the emotions in man and animals. London: Murray, 1872.

15. Dietrich, J. E. The relative effectiveness of two modes of radio delivery in influencing attitudes, Speech Monographs, 13, 1946, 58-65.

16. Dion, K. K., Berscheid, E. and Walster, E., What is beautiful is good. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 24, 285-90.

17. Dittmann, A. T. The relationship between body movements and moods in interviews. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1962, 26, 480.

18. Dittmann, A. T. and Llewellyn, L. G. Relationship between vocalization and head nods as listener responses. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 9, 79-84.

19. Eisenberg, A. M. and Smith, R. B. Nonverbal Communication. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971.

20. Ekman, P. Body position, facial expression, and verbal behavior during interviews. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1964, 68, 295-301.

21. Ekman, P., and Friesen, W. The repertoire of nonverbal behavior: Categories, origins, usage and coding. Semiotics, 1969, 1, 49-97.

22. Ekman, P. and Friesen, W. Nonverbal leakage and clues to deception. Psychiatry, 1969, 32, 88-106.

23. Ekman, P., Friesen W. and Ellsworth, P. Emotion in the human face: Guidelines for research and a review of findings. Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press.

24. Freedman, N. Survival value of the beard. Psychology Today, 1969, 3, 36-39.

25. Freedman, N. The analysis of movement behavior during the clinical interview. In Siegman, A.W. and Pope B. (Eds.) Studies in dyadic

communication. New York: Pergamon Press, 1972.

26. Giedt, F. Comparison of visual, content and auditory cues in interviewing, Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1955, 19, 407-416.

27. Gorden, R. L. Interviewing: Strategy, techniques, and tactics. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

28. Gould, J. Costello. TV's first headless star: only his hands entertain audience. New York Times, 2/25/52. 11, 20.

29. Goyer, R. S., Redding, W. C. and Rickey, J. T. Interviewing principles and techniques: a project text. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1964.

30. Hall, E. T. The hidden dimension. New York: Anchor Books, 1966.

31. Hall, E. T. The silent language. New York: Fawcett Publications, 1959.

32. Haase, R. F. and DiMattia, D. Proxemic behavior: counselor, administrator and client preference for seating arrangement in dyadic interaction. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1970, 17, 320.

33. Haase, R. F. and Topper, D. T. Nonverbal components of empathic communication. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1972, 29, 417-423.

34. Harrison, R. Beyond Words. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1974.

35. Harrison, R. P. and Knapp, M. L. Toward an understanding of nonverbal communication systems. Journal of Communication, 1972, 22, 339-352.

36. James, W. A study of the expression of bodily posture. Journal of General Psychology. 1932, 7, 405-436.

37. Johnson, K. E. Black kinesics: some nonverbal communication patterns in the black culture. Intercultural Communication: a reader. Samovar, L. A. and Porter, R. E. (Eds.) Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc.

38. Kahn, R. L. and Cannell, C. F. The dynamics of interviewing. New York: Wiley, 1957.

39. Kanfer, E. Verbal rate, eyeblink and content in structured psychiatric interviews, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1960, 61, 341-347.

40. Kaul, T. J. and Schmidt, L. D. Dimensions of interviewer trustworthiness, Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1971, 18, 545-546.

41. Kleck, R. Physical stigma and nonverbal cues emitted in face-to-face interaction, Human Relations, 1968, 21, 19-28.

42. Kleck, R., Ono, J., and Hastord, A. H. The effects of physical deviance upon face-to-face interaction. Human Relations, 19, 1966, 425-436.

43. Knapp, M. Nonverbal communication in human interaction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972.

44. Knapp, M. The field of nonverbal communication: an overview. In Stewart, S. J. (Ed.) On Speech Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1972, pp. 57-72.

45. Knapp, M., Hart, R. P., Friedrich, G. W. and Schulman, G. M. The rhetoric of good-bye: verbal and non-verbal correlates of human leave-taking. Speech Monographs, 1973, 40, 182-98.

46. Krout, M. H. Gestures and attitudes: an experimental study of the verbal equivalents and other characteristics of a selected group of manual autistic gestures. Unpub PhD, University of Chicago, 1931.

47. Leathers, D. G. Nonverbal Communication Systems. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1976.

48. Leipold, W. D. Psychological distance in a dyadic interview as a function of introversion, extraversion, anxiety, social desirability and stress. Unpub. Ph.D., U. N. Dakota, 1963.

49. Levitt, E. The relationship between abilities to express emotional meanings vocally and facially, in Davitz, J. (ed.), The communication of emotional meaning. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

50. Mahl, G. F. Disturbances and silences in the patients' speech in psychotherapy. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1956, 53, 1-15.

51. Mahl, G. and Schultz, G. Psychological research in the extralinguistic area, in Sebeck, T. (ed.) Approaches to Semiotics, The Hague: Mouton, 1964.

52. Mehrabian, A. Relationship of attitude to seated posture, orientation and distance. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 9, 79-84.

53. Mehrabian, A. and Ferris, S. R. Inference of attitudes from nonverbal communication in two channels. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1967, 31, 248-252.

54. Mehrabian, A. and Wiener, M. Decoding of inconsistent communications. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, 6, 109-114.

55. Metzler, K. Creative interviewing. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

56. Nichols, R. Listening is a 10 part skill. Nation's Business, July, 1957, 56-60.

57. Pearce, W. B. and Conklin, F. Nonverbal vocalic communication and

perceptions of a speaker. Speech Monographs. 1971, 38, 325-41.

58. Richetto, G. M. and Zima, J. P. Fundamentals of interviewing. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1976.

59. Rosenthal, A. M. Japan, famous for politeness, has a less courteous side, too. New York Times, February 25, 1962, 111, 20.

60. Ruesch, J. and Kress. W. Nonverbal Communication: notes on the visual perception of human relations. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956.

61. Sainsbury, P. Gestural movement during psychiatric interview. Psychosomatic Medicine, 1955, 17, 458-469.

62. Sapir, E. The unconscious patterning of behavior in society, in Mandelbaum, D. (ed.) Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

63, Scheflen, A. E. Quasi-courtship behavior in psychotherapy. Psychiatry, 1965, 28, 245-57.

64. Schubert, G. Quantitative analysis of judicial behavior. Glencoe: Free Press, 1959.

65. Sereno, K. K. and Hawkins, G. J. Effect of variations in speaker's non-fluency upon audience ratings of attitude toward the speech topic and speaker's credibility. Speech Monographs, 1967, 34, 58-64.

66. Sherwood, H. The journalistic interview. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

67. Sommer, R. Studies in personal space, Sociometry, 1959, 22, 247-60.

68. Stass, J. W. and Willis, F. N. Eye contact, pupil dilation, and personal preference. Psychonomic Science, 1967, 7, 375-376.

69. Stewart, C.J. and Cash, W. B. Interviewing: principles and practices. 2d ed. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., Publishers, 1978.

70. Strodtbeck, F.L. and Hook, L. H. The social dimensions of the 12-man jury table. Sociometry, 1961, 24, 397-414.

71. Trager, G. L. Paralanguage: a first approximation. Studies in Linguistics, 1958, 13, 1-12.

72. Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D. and Sechrest, L. Unobtrusive measures: nonreactive research in the social sciences. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966.

73. Webb, E. J. and Salancik, The interview, or the only wheel in town. Journalism Monographs, 1966, 2.

74. Weitz, S. (ed.) Nonverbal communication: readings with commentary. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

75. Wiseman, G. and Barker, L. Speech--Interpersonal communication. San Francisco: Chandler, 1967.

76. Wodgery, R. and Stackpole, G. Desk position, interviewee anxiety, and interviewer credibility: an example of cognitive balance in a dyad. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1972, 19, 173-175.

77. Wolff, W. and Precker, J. A. Expressive movement and the methods of experimental depth psychology, in Anderson, J. J. and Anderson, G. L. (eds.) An introduction to projection techniques. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951.

78. Zunin, L. and Zunin, N.B. Contact: the first four minutes. Los Angeles: Nash, 1972